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Workers of the World,
Unite!

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Hitlerites Shut Down Headquarters of The Communist Party Why Does the Communist International Continue Its Silence About Germany?

Differing from their Italian prototypes only in the greater speed with which they are succeeding in consolidating their power, the Nazis in Germany have now additional measures to insure execution of their murder program against the working class. After having instructed the police to suppress all anti-Fascist meetings with the aid of the brown-shirts and Steel Helmets, a new order has been issued by Captain Goering, the Fascist commissioner in charge of the Prussian Ministry of the Interior, commanding the arming of the Nazi storm troops and the members of the Steel Helmets for use as "auxiliary police". The training of the latter has already begun and they have already been officially reviewed by government authorities as part of the government's forces. The suppression of meetings of Communists and social democrats is being carried out without the slightest camouflage. In Berlin, the social democratic Reichsbanner has been forbidden to hold a demonstration "on the ground that it would collide with Nazi arrangements". In Altona, the Nazi storm troops are to parade openly in the streets, this time not merely with the official approval of the authorities, and under police protection, but the formal announcement that the most rigorous measures will be adopted to suppress any counter-demonstration. At Cologne—a fact of enormous significance—socialist meetings "are to be permitted only if no Communists happen to be present". In this Fascist order is contained an acknowledgement of the fear experienced by the Nazis when faced with the prospect of united demonstrations and action of the German working class, both of the Communist and social democratic camp.

In addition, the radio, a government monopoly from which the Communists were excluded in the past, has now been allocated entirely for the use of the Nazis and the Nationalists, so that not only the Communists and the social democrats are to be deprived of its use, but even the Catholic Center party and the People's party once headed by the deceased Dr. Stresemann.

Party Quarters Raided
To top this record of a couple of days of intensive Fascist activity in Germany, it is to be noted that not only was the huge Communist party meeting in Berlin broken up by the police, but the headquarters of the Communist party, the famous Karl Liebknecht House, was broken into by squads of police, literature and other party property confiscated, and a police guard left in charge of the building. One day later (Saturday), the police announced the discovery "of subterranean vaults containing tons of treasonable printed matter and labyrinths of underground passages providing secret exits". One of the first moves following this raid, has been the government order forbidding the Communist party to collect money publicly. All these moves are only the flank attacks, the preliminary skirmishes, in the plan of battle of the Fascists to harass and weaken the party sufficiently to be able to give it the final blow that will drive it out of existence.

It is not to these events, however, that the center of attention should be directed. What the Fascists are now doing and what they intend to do tomorrow—that we were able to forecast with difficulty and we did forecast it. Far exceeding this aspect of the German situation in importance, remains the state of paralysis of the proletariat which makes possible the murderous advance of the Nazis. The Berlin correspondent of the New York Times, Mr. Frederick T. Birchall, an observer who reveals an unusually lucid understanding of what is happening, makes the following comment on the government order to arm the Fascists to help the police against the Left wing: "The growing excesses of the Left radicals are purely mythical. Neither the Communists nor any other radicals of the Left have dared to make the slightest demonstration for weeks. Virtually all 'excesses' and disturbances have originated from Nazi sources."

In a word, the Fascists are not merely very much on the offensive, but the working class has not yet even organized its defensive!

In Germany, with its trade union movement, its Communist party and its social democratic party far stronger than they ever were in Italy, the fact is that the Hitler-

ites are encountering at the present time less resistance than did Mussolini's Black Shirts either before their march on Rome or after the installation of the Fascists in power!

The working class, which is showing such an unmistakable desire to unite its ranks in a movement to crush the Nazis, is being kept in a state of impotence from two sides. The social democracy, at a moment when the proletariat should be aroused and every instrument of struggle put into its hands, is dragging the working class just at the time when the Fascist knife is descending upon its body.

Stampfer's Interview
In the interview with the press, the editor of the central organ of the social democracy, Herr Friedrich Stampfer declared, according to the *Heidel-Tribune* (2-24-1933), that his party was not very much worried about the possibilities enjoyed by the Fascists for remaining long in power! From his interview, we extract the following items, characteristically significant!

"The German working class is not very strong as an attacking force, but put it on the defensive and it is unconquerable.... On July 20 last, when the Prussian government was deposed in Prussia, the Communists urged us to call a general strike. We were convinced, how-

ever, that a general strike would lead inevitably to a conflict which could only end to the disadvantage of the workers.... We socialists cannot be revolutionary, or militant, at the present time, as many for-

ign observers seem to expect. The time may come, indeed, and that before long, when things will come to a head and the trade unions will cease to put up passively with political developments, as they have for two generations, but the socialists will not accelerate such a development.... The endeavor of the socialist leaders to organize even a temporary tactical alliance with the Communists have failed completely

Japan Widens Attack On North China

The hypocrisy of the Imperialist League of Nations in its attitude towards China stands recorded in every speech of the "statesmen". The League was founded for the maintenance of a robbers' status quo and for the crushing of the Soviet Union, these two aims going necessarily hand in hand. It is worth recalling for a moment the historic antecedents of the present League.

Its prototype was the Holy Alliance initiated by Czar Alexander. The clearest expression of that alliance was given in the Protocol of Troppau in 1820. The advance of "democracy" had not yet made mandatory care in the wording of documents. That protocol stated, "if owing to such (revolutions), immediate danger threatens other states, the Powers bind themselves by peaceful means, or if need be by arms, to bring back the guilty state to the bosom of the Great Alliance." With the necessary mod-

ification due to the march of history, this is still the doctrine of the League. It must be recalled further that the first Hague Peace Conference was initiated by another Czar, Nicholas II, in 1898; that finally, the League was constituted by the most reactionary imperialist diplomats after a robbers' world war. China is still in the throes of revolution, halted but for a moment. The League and the Japanese call this intense and profound movement of the Chinese masses that is forcing the submerged workers and peasants on to the stage of history, nothing but "chaos" and "anarchy". In reality this places China outside the pale of the League. And that is the complete tenor of Matsukata's speech of withdrawal from the League. That speech is the declaration, if it still needed any declaration, that it is "open season" for the robber imperialists in China. "That (lack of unity) is one reason why China is unable to rid itself as it desires, of foreign military forces stationed in and about the treaty ports and of foreign vessels that ply the Yangtze River. These forces are not only Japanese. They are British, American, French, Italian and others.... Less than five years ago a portion of these forces, British and American, had to go into action at Nanking." In short, says Japan, let us make no bones about the matter, we are doing precisely what you would like to do, but we are doing it first.

The attitude of British capitalism at this juncture is superbly stated by Winston Churchill who tells America that she will have to pull her own chestnuts out of the fire. "Even if foreign countries engaged in a war there is no reason why a wise, honorable foreign policy should not enable us to stand aside." That is to say let the U. S.

Militant Sales In Sharp Rise

The sales of the *Militant* in New York are mounting with unusual speed. The campaign of the Left Opposition on the German situation has encountered the greatest interest and support of any movement yet set on foot by us in this country. The previous issue of the *Militant*, containing the article on the German situation by comrade Trotsky, was sold on the streets, like the issues before it, by members and sympathizers of the League. In New York, we sold one thousand copies of this issue in one day, in addition to the copies which go regularly to subscribers and those which are bought on the newsstands. Comrade Spithas sold 181 copies; Sammy Sold 179; comrade Levine, a sympathizer, sold 170 copies and Jim Carr sold upwards of a hundred. In addition fifty copies of the latest pamphlet by Leon Trotsky, containing his Copenhagen speech in defense of the Russian Revolution, were also sold on the streets in one day at five cents a copy. The whole New York branch of the League is enthusiastically and successfully engaged in the drive, with every comrade at his post.

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St. Louis Unemployment Conference Adopts Left Opposition Proposals

A unity convention of the employed and the unemployed was called in the name of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union and the City Committee of the Unemployed Councils on Feb. 19th, 1933. Some thirty organizations sent fifty delegates representing approximately 2,000 workers. The local branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and its auxiliary organizations, the International Workers School and the Jewish Workers Club sent delegates to fight for our unemployed program.

However, it appeared at first that the "Trotskyite" delegations would have difficulty in being seated. Stalinists told us before the meeting that they would unite with "anybody". This was later confirmed by the enthusiastic reception of the Stalinists to two religious delegations. John Spengermann and Charles Mahler were on the distributing committee giving out our unemployment program leaflets to the workers attending the conference. Luckily the Left Opposition members were close by as the Stalinist fanatics came out en masse—20 or 25 of them—to inform us to desist from distributing our literature or else our "heads will get broken". We told the fanatics that we would continue giving out our leaflets in spite of their threats. In order to avoid a fist-fight and the interference of the police, who were across the street, we retreated out of the lobby onto the sidewalk. During the

squabble workers stepped up and protested against any trouble and demanded the unity of the workers, thus concretely vindicating the unity program of the Left Opposition on unemployment. The 25 fanatics retreated, going back for "more reinforcements". Fortunately Charles Warner, a rank and file militant, who enjoys a vast amount of respect among the rank and file workers for his militant fights in behalf of the unemployed, arrived at this time. He insisted that the "Trotskyite" delegation be admitted. The bureaucrats did not dare to oppose the will of this extremely popular fighter of the Unemployed Councils. Warner agreed with our demand that our committee should distribute our leaflet and none of the fanatics would interfere. Victory, Number One!

The conference was opened by Stone. Warner was elected chairman by acclamation. And then the conference got down to business.

A resolutions committee of six, which included two Left Oppositionists, was elected. The Credentials Committee which was elected also included a Left Oppositionist sympathizer. Victory number two!

The resolutions as proposed by Unemployed Council were only of a petty episodic "immediate relief" nature. The Left Oppositionists in the resolutions committee brought forth the entire program of the Communist League of America (Op-

Two Negroes Lynched In South

Two Negro workers were lynched the same day, Sunday, Feb. 19, 1933, one in Ringgold, La., the other in Aiken, S. C., a banker having been beaten to death in one locality, the Negro in Aiken having been accused of stealing liquor.

That even the newspapers of the North are partners to perpetuating this worse than barbarous institution, used by the southern Bourbons to keep the workers divided along color lines and the Negro race subjected as a caste, is evidenced by the fact that in their reports of the lynching of Nelson Nash of Louisiana, they include the lie of the white South that they place at the base of so many lynchings: "He attempted to attack Mrs. Batchelor", the wife of the late banker.

"They always say, he raped, he attempted to rape, or he attacked her, as if the purpose of their lynching was none other than to protect white women! (Certainly they never make any pretense but protecting colored women!) But they lie even here, and the workers throughout the country, especially the Southern workers, should be given a chance to see through the falsity of this accusation.

White women in the South are not protected against those who "prey on women", such as the famous "Lone Wolf" who operated in New Orleans the same as he did in New York, any more than women are protected anywhere else under capitalism. They are forced into prostitution with low wages, unemployment, general economic uncertainty even more than in many other places. Certainly their outlook for "happy marriages" is very slim. The truth is that the chivalry of the South is a thin cloak that covers not only the bosses' excuses for lynching Negroes, but also the worst kind of degeneration of women in the Southern States.

Not only are Negro women outside the pale of Southern chivalry; they are often the victims of this weapon the bosses wield, and one inquires of those who maintain this sex angle, if lynching is to protect white women from being raped by Negroes, why are Negro women also the victims of this weapon?

In 1710 there were 50,000 Negroes in the country; 220,000 in 1750; 740,000 at the time of the Revolutionary War, of which 700,000 were

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and Japan ruin each other while we keep the arena from becoming a free-for-all. Churchill goes on, after stating that the League cannot force England into a war: "The first duty of British statesmen is to make sure we are not drawn into any war, and it is only their second (!) duty to try to prevent others from fighting or to try to end their quarrels.... We do not want to throw away our old friend Japan with Japan." Churchill tells Japan plainly that she has a perfectly free hand in China so far as England is concerned. In fact he compares directly what Japan is doing in China with what England herself is engaged in carrying out in India. And indeed the comparison is most apt!

Meantime the League begins a new tune on the arms embargo. Such an embargo would hardly be worth the paper to record it. No

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Intensive Exploitation of the German Workers is Prospect Under Hitler

The present situation in German economy presents new contradictions every day. Unemployment has been increasing, and the export surplus has fallen to the lowest figure in three years; yet prices of commodities and securities keep advancing. The latter fact is especially interesting as it shows the opinion which the German bourgeoisie itself has, and is willing to back with money, in the speculative markets, of its immediate future.

The contradictions reflect the fact that Germany is now in a critical position, in which the next few weeks or months may impress their character on years to come. If Hitler wins full power, he will open a period of the most intense exploitation of German labor with a view to squeezing out the maximum profits possible under the situation of the general world crisis of capitalism intensified by a cyclical crisis of unheard-of intensity. If an effective united front between Communist and reformist workers through their organizations is formed, it may well not only defeat Hitler and reestablish the rights of the workers under the bourgeois democracy of the Weimar republic, but sweep on beyond these limits and open a period of revolutionary crisis on the way to the seizure of power.

In such a transitional stage as the present in Germany, economic life reflects not only echoes of the immediately preceding past but anticipations of the new. The increase in unemployment reflects the

...We socialists realize that we have a formidable task ahead of us, but we do not view the situation in any spirit of depression or fatalism, fascism stands no chance of gaining a foothold in a nation like Germany that has a certain level of political culture, owing to the resistance that will be forthcoming from the workers."

That the socialist leaders "cannot be revolutionary, or militant, and will not go, goes without saying. Exceeding even their fear of fascism, is their fear that the masses may unfold such a movement as will lead to the revolutionary victory of the proletariat. That the socialists have endeavored to make an alliance with the Communists, is just as much a naïveté as is the contention of the Stalinists that they stand for the "united front from below" with the socialist workers, but not with their organizations. The social democrats have indeed demanded a "united front" with the Communists, but on the little condition that the Communists dissolve themselves! What else is the meaning of the socialist demand that in this "united front" the Communists refrain from criticism of the policies and conduct of the social democratic leaders?

"The current issue of the American socialist New Leader boasts that

"the Communist masses are actually beginning to work with the socialists". Stampfer-Bretschneider wells have thus taken a leap out of the book of Stalin-Stalinovsky-Stalinism. While the situation calls for a united front from below, the Stalinist outbursts concern themselves with empty, discreditable chatter about the "united front from below".

Stampfer consoles the working class with the theory that Germany is too cultured a land to allow fascism to "gain a foothold" in it. The Italian social democrats more than 10 years ago also assured the masses by assuring them that in their country, the "cradle of modern civilization", the fascist barbarians could not hope to "gain a foothold". And why not? Because the socialists will "resist". How? The joint manifesto of the social democratic party and Reichstag fraction gives us an idea of what this resistance will look like. While the literatures are proceeding with their violent regime of terrorism, with fire and sword, with the utmost brutality and cynical unconcern for all the niceties of parliamentarism so cherished by the social democrats, the latter announce:

"We shall wage our struggle upon the basis of the Constitution. We shall defend the political and social rights of the people, established by the Constitution and by law." (New Leader, 2-25-1933.)

The program of the social democracy has the merit of clarity. We know what it is driving at: it aims to keep its record of treachery unimpaired. To talk about "struggle" on the basis of the Constitution at a time like this, is deliberately to surrender the German working class, bound and gagged, to the butchers of fascism.

But if the social democracy has at least this merit, the same cannot be said about the Communist party. What is the party doing to mobilize the working class at this crucial, desperate hour? Nobody knows, least of all the Stalinist leaders! The official party press continues to report an incident here and another elsewhere about clashes between Communists and Fascists, but nobody can discern just what the policy of the party looks like. The hollow repetition of the slogan for the "united front from below"—signifies less than nothing. The Fascists are moving with seven league boots—the Communists, who should be in the vanguard of the movement to initiate the united front, are bewildered, confused and impotent. The observations of the bourgeois correspondent referred to above are, sadly enough, close to the terrible truth.

Stalinist Silence

The proletariat has not yet struck back at fascism, and for this the Stalinists bear the main burden of responsibility. The program of the Left Opposition—for a united front of the Communist party with the social democracy and the trade unions—the former has rejected out of hand. Are they waiting until the German proletariat has been cut to pieces before they decide to act? That is the question and that is how it must be put.

And above everything else, we repeat our question:

WHY IS THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL SILENT ABOUT THE EVENTS IN GERMANY? WHY DOESN'T THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL DO ITS ELEMENTARY DUTY AND SPEAK OUT? WHY DOESN'T IT GIVE COUNSEL TO THE GERMAN PROLETARIAT AT THIS DESPERATE MOMENT OF CRISIS? WHY DOESN'T IT CALL UPON THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS FOR PROLETARIAN SOLIDARITY WITH THE GERMAN MASSES?

For the Communist International, the "general staff of the world revolution", to persist in its silence now—is A CRIME!

For the Communist worker to be quiet while such a crime is being committed—IS TO MAKE HIMSELF AN ACCOMPLICE TO IT!

Louder and louder must rise the cry: The Communist International must speak out! It must demand the united front of the German working class! It must set in motion the machinery that will crush Hitlerism! It must stop talking about "defending the Soviet Union", and actually defend it on its most threatened front: Germany.

—G. C. Sunday, Feb. 26, 1933. —M. S.

BROWNSVILLE
MASS MEETING

«The CRISIS IN GERMANY»

Auspices: Communist League of America (Opposition)

Speaker:
MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor of The Militant

Labor Lyceum
SUNDAY, MARCH 5, 2 P. M.
219 SACKMAN ST., Bklyn N. Y.
ADMISSION 15 Cents

Tardy Acknowledgement

In the Izvestia, official Soviet government organ, of April 10, 1932, Karl Radek wrote an article proposing an alliance with American imperialism against Japan. Two days later, the statesmen of the Daily Worker, in enthusiastic salute to Radek's proposal, defiled the columns of this Communist paper with a rotten chauvinistic editorial. "This proposal," it said, "means a new step in the peace policy of the Soviet Union." In the Militant of April 16, 1932, we wrote that the editorial, "completely devoid of a breath of proletarian revolutionism, is one of the most disgraceful pieces of cynical flattery with chauvinism that has ever appeared in the Communist movement... The Daily Worker, entirely consistent with the theory of socialism in one country, which means in practice the abandonment of every revolutionary principle in the alleged interests of defending the Soviet Union from military attack, picks up the Radek thread with all its implications elaborated upon even more shamelessly. Taking Radek's cue, the editorial writer proceeds to address himself to the American ruling class in order to show it that its best imperialist interest lies in a break with Japan and an alliance with the Soviets. Now the party's demand for the 'expulsion of all Japanese diplomatic representatives from the U. S.' becomes entirely clear..."

For these sharp but entirely justified strictures upon the Stalinist politicians, we were at that time subjected to the vilest abuse. The ritualistic abominations—"counter-revolutionists, enemies of the Soviet Union, social-fascists, renegades"—were spat out at us from every party tribune. Even the little Lovestone sect came rushing out of obscurity to give the Stalinists a "theoretical" foundation for their policy, equipped with all the trappings of a few Lenin quotations violently divorced from their context.

Ten months have passed since that dispute and we are now in a position to cast a balance—and what a balance! In the Draft Resolution for the Eighth Convention of the American party (Daily Worker, 2-1-1933) we learn with considerable astonishment and not a little gratification that:

"Extremely grave errors were committed by the Party when the robber attack of the Japanese imperialist armies in Manchuria placed the question of war before the American Party in a sharper and more real form than ever before.... While the Party correctly perceived that the contradictions between rival imperialisms must be utilized to the utmost by the revolutionary party, yet an inexcusably incorrect application of the correct principle was made in adopting for a period a conciliatory attitude towards the speculations of the bourgeois correspondents (What do you mean 'bourgeois correspondents'? And Radek?—s.) about a possible 'alliance' between the U. S. and USSR, against Japan (Daily Worker, April 12), and by failure to distinguish between the correct Leninist utilization of antagonisms by a proletariat in possession of State power and the different forms such

utilization by Communist parties in capitalist countries must take.... The incorrect application of the utilization of the contradictions between the imperialist powers tended to weaken our struggle against American imperialism. The campaign suffered further from a certain narrowing down of the mass movement because the Party mistakenly adopted as Party slogans those which were not the slogans of the conscious vanguard of the proletarian masses, but rather the slogans which express the unripe-revolutionary moods of the masses that are only now growing toward revolutionary consciousness (False!) They were and are, right now, the slogans of the military chauvinist wing of the American bourgeoisie.... slogans to which the Party must give conditional support but not put forward in its own name (Expel the Japanese imperialist representatives, etc.)."

Confused and unprincipled as is even this piece of "self-criticism" (not the least of its aims is to cover up the traces for the Moscow Stalinists), it is nevertheless a shamefaced acknowledgment that the criticism leveled against the Stalinists by the Militant was more than a little justified. We have no doubt that now, in view of the fact that we have been proved correct beyond dispute, the Stalinists will make up for it by multiplying their violent attacks upon the Left Opposition.—s.

The Jap Attack

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government that wished to do so (and the munitions makers of all countries are most eager to get going) would be prevented from winning at slight "irregularities" that meant good business. Right now both England and France are supplying munitions to Japan at top speed. Nor do or will the American Guggenheims hesitate for one moment in shipping vast quantities of nitrates from Chile—enough for a prolonged war with America if that war breaks out. An arms embargo would be merely an other scrap of paper.

Opinions have been freely expressed that Japan will shortly find herself in dire financial straits. This is not true in the immediate, naive sense stated. So long as France has vast hoards of unused gold, Japan will secure all the financing it needs from the great money-lender of Europe. Particularly is this true because France favors as much as does Japan the unification of China which would mean the ultimate ousting of the reactionary French from Annam and South China. The rub will come for Japan when the debts fall due, when its internal shakiness becomes accentuated by desperate efforts at more intense exploitation of its workers and peasants. The cost of living rises to stupendous heights in Japan while real wages fall. The strict Japanese censorship screens out the news of peasant riots and workers' strikes that are surface indications of the seething below. In the end it is the inescapable internal contradictions of Japanese economy that spell the doom of her imperialism.—J. W.

Opposition at St. Louis Meet

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position) and after some negative discussion by one or two Stalinists our program was unanimously adopted for consideration by the conference. In the floor discussion that followed all the points were carried unanimously. Briefly they were as follows:

1. Immediate Relief—concretized by the Unemployed Council's suggestions.
2. Unemployment Insurance at the expense of the employers and state government.
3. For the 6 hour day and the 5 day week with no reduction in pay.
4. For trade relations with and the extension of credits to the Soviet Union as a means of unemployment relief for American workers and for drawing the American and Russian workers into closer relationship. For the recognition of the Soviet Union by the U. S. government.

The formation of a United Front Unemployment Conference committee consisting of one delegate from each organization which shall carry out the following instructions:

1. To mobilize the membership of all the organizations for a joint demonstration for immediate relief at the Citizens Committee on March 4.
2. To issue a call immediately for the second conference inviting all working class organizations to participate.
3. To organize the sending of speakers to the various organizations to urge the acceptance of the invitation and to explain the aims of the united front movement.
4. To issue a minimum of 20,000 leaflets to popularize the conference and its projected program.
5. To call upon each organization represented to hold a public meeting in support of the conference under its own auspices.
6. To organize a joint mass meeting of all organizations participating in the conference with representative speakers from each tendency.

The fight of the Opposition was completely victorious—and as the workers-delegates went home our

Abern Speaks at Boston

A mass meeting at which the German situation today will be analyzed and the reasons given for the Left Opposition demand for a united front to smash Hitler, is to be held in Boston on Sunday night, March 5, 1933, 8 P. M. at Belmont Hall, 150 Humbolt Ave., Roxbury, Mass. The meeting, under the auspices of the Boston branch of the League, will be addressed by Martin Abern, member of the National Committee of the organization, and by comrade Antoinette P. Konig. All workers are urged to attend the meeting and hear the standpoint of the Opposition.

Lynch 2 Negroes

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scattered on isolated plantations of the South; and 1,500,000 in 1820. During all these two centuries charges of rape against Negroes were unknown although there were ample opportunity for commission of such crimes. ("Rope & Fagot" by Walter White)

With the few exceptions of Abolitionists and those Negro slaves who were intelligent and courageous enough to seek freedom through influencing others, lynchings were out of the question, when the victim represented a cash value, when the worker was the property of his master, when chattel slavery was not an institution. It was only when lynchings could be used to subject Negroes for the purpose of extracting profits for the new masters that lynching became an institution, that is to say, lynching is a capitalist institution used by the capitalists to protect their interests, their profits, their social order.

The aim of Nash, if the lynchings got the man they were after, was to get money. He took the banker to the bank for that purpose. How often the bankers steal thousands and millions of dollars from the workers! George Feter of Alken likewise was after appropriating property.—GEO. SAUL

300 Hear Opposition In Toronto

Toronto.—The great interest of the workers in the position of the Left Opposition in the German crisis was shown in the meeting held in Toronto.

Although no leaflet was issued and only the meagerest form of advertisement appeared less than two days before the meeting due to the difficult conditions that exist about 300 workers packed literally every inch of sitting and standing accommodation; workers stood outside in the hallway to listen while many had to be turned away, so great was the attraction and interest of the workers in the German situation.

A real international spirit pervaded the meeting despite the silly interruptions from a small number of Y. C. Lers who insisted on making a public exhibition of their political bankruptcy. Most of the Y. C. Lers responded sympathetically to our viewpoint by listening attentively to the speakers and after the meeting purchased the Militant and fraternized with our comrades.

Comrades J. MacDonald and M. Spector were the principal speakers. Comrade MacDonald gave the workers an opportunity to compare the position taken by the Communist in the German revolution when Lenin was alive with the position of the present International under the Stalin leadership. Comrade Spector traced the German events and the revolutionary possibilities which had opened up after the collapse of the monarchy to the present day.

Both speakers pointed out the significance of the present German events for the world revolutionary movement and for the Soviet Union. Although Fascism is in power it has not consolidated its position yet; the German proletariat is not yet defeated and the adoption by the Comintern and its German section of the Leninist united front tactics will smother Fascism to smithereens. Rounds of applause greeted the remarks of the speakers. A resolution was then presented from the meeting demanding the repeal of Section 98 and the unconditional release of the eight Communist leaders and all other political prisoners. At this point the aforementioned small group began making interjections. Amidst the applause of the crowd the chairman announced all those in favor of the resolution stand up and the whole audience stood up on their feet.

The question period further exposed the shameful political education of the new Y. C. L. cadres. Every question under the sun except those that dealt with the most significant events in the International today was asked by this "group." When comrade Spector, in replying to the questions, asked why Stalin is silent on the German situation, the Stalinist "spokesman" replied amidst protest and laughter that "he (Stalin) was too busy building socialism in Russia."

In the discussion only one YCLer took the floor to reiterate the old demagoguery of the Stalinists. In the course of his ten minute speech he mentioned that the Left Opposition was afraid to give them the opportunity to reply to our arguments. The comrades of the Spartacus Youth Club immediately challenged the Y. C. L. "spokesman" to a public debate. This he promptly declined with the worn-out excuse that the question of "Trotskyism" had been liquidated and Y. C. L. was not a discussion circle. The fact of the matter is that at this very moment, under pressure of the Left Opposition, the question of "Trotskyism" has been re-opened in all the Stalinist groups throughout greater Toronto.—Q

Scottsboro Conference Rejects United Front

Boston.—The long-delayed Mooney-Scottsboro conference was held in Boston on Sunday, February 19. The credentials committee reported representation from sixty organizations.

While brief reports were being given on the cases in question, the resolutions committee of nine, including one of the delegates from the Boston branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition), comrade Schechet, was in session. After the "general" resolution was adopted a further resolution for a genuine united front conference is to be called at once was introduced by comrade Schechet. It is noteworthy that although this resolution was defeated, it received the support of four of the nine delegates serving on the committee.

The discussion from the floor revealed how little the Stalinists have learned from the past and despite the many failures through their incorrect position on the uni-

ted front, they are unwilling to make the necessary turn. A party member who is also a member of an A. F. of L. local brought out the point that in the attempt to invite A. F. of L. locals the call of the ILD very often did not even reach the membership. This proved to his mind the correctness of further stressing the "united front from below." The official party representatives had nothing to say. Eva Weiser, pointed out in her report from the Left Opposition, comrade marks the incorrectness of the theory of a united front "from below" and showed that precisely because the call of the I. L. D. in the past did not reach the bulk of the membership under the reformist leadership, we must make a complete turn and invite the central bodies of all workers' organizations, thus putting the leadership to the wall. She showed clearly that the failure of the I. L. D. to organize the broadest united front in the Mooney case resulted in Chicago convention through the Molders' Committee. It was at this point that the party spokesman announced himself and after a typically Stalinist line of denunciation of the "agents interested in uniting with the misleaders of labor" called for an "honest united front from below."

Comrade Schechet then spoke again briefly on the united front, explaining that while it is clear enough to the sixty delegates at this conference that the role of the reformist leadership means betrayal of the workers, we must not overlook the fact that thousands upon thousands of the workers still have confidence in their leaders, together with their following, and prove in action to the masses of workers who it is that sincerely represents their interests. Comrade Schechet thereupon moved that the conference immediately call a second conference inviting the central bodies of all working class organizations, Socialist party, A. F. of L. Workers' Circle, all Negro organizations, etc., etc., to unite with us in the struggle for freedom of the Scottsboro boys, Mooney and all other class war prisoners. And that leaflets be printed to this effect and widely distributed among the workers in order that mass pressure may be brought to bear on their leaders.

Conveniently enough, a substitute motion was made to proceed with the election of an action committee which shall decide on all further work.

It must be said in conclusion that this action committee must set to work most seriously and at once. Realizing that mass pressure is the strongest weapon which will gain freedom from the nine Scottsboro boys and all other class war prisoners, the committee must stop making empty gestures about an "honest" united front "from below." This mass pressure can be brought about only through the broadest united front as outlined by the Left Opposition. In this work the Boston branch of the League pledges its entire and most energetic support.—C. S.

Mine Situation Told In Davenport

Davenport, Iowa.—A lecture was held Feb. 18, at Hiernian Hall, where about seventy-five workers attended to hear Gerry Allard, the leader of the coal miners in southern Illinois, describe the conditions of the miners and the reason for their fight against the Peabody Coal Company and the betrayers of the coal miners, John L. Lewis and his henchmen.

Allard gave a very enthusiastic picture of the heroic fight that the miners are putting up in southern Illinois. Comrade Allard showed conclusively that the miners knew what they had to face in the struggle. A discussion took place at which the leader of the local Stalinists made an attack on comrade Allard and his co-workers in southern Illinois. But comrade Allard in a very few words was able to annihilate the slanderous attacks of the present party leadership amidst the enthusiastic applause of the audience.

Seventy-five workers attended this lecture despite the fact that there was three other big meetings in the city. The A. F. of L. particularly gave a special blow-out with free entertainment at the Grand Theater, though they knew that comrade Allard was to speak in the city.

After the meeting a party was held by our branch of the Left Opposition for comrade Allard with twenty to twenty-five workers present who stayed until after midnight. Everybody was enthusiastic about comrade Allard's visit.

The enthusiasm of comrade Allard was catching by the workers in spite of the small crowd. Many of the workers expressed their desire to form a relief committee to help the striking miners in spite of the unemployment here.

Greeks Rallied On German Crisis

On February 7 and 19 our Greek Workers Club "Protomagia" gave two lectures at the hall of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union 687-8th Ave., on the united front and the Fascist danger in Germany by comrades Pappas and Caidis.

At the first lecture the managing editor of the Empress attempted with the assistance of 15-20 other Stalinists to stop the workers from entering the Hall. Seeing that their efforts were fruitless they decided to come in and listen themselves to the speaker. The hall was packed with more than 75 workers present. When the floor was thrown open for discussion comrade Caidis as chairman suggested that the floor be taken primarily by the opponents. The editor was forced to get up and speak for at least 10 minutes while our comrades appealed to the chair to extend his time for half an hour. This the chairman accepted and remarked that even half an hour is not enough for the presentation of the opponents' views and suggested to the Stalinists present to accept our challenge and debate with us any day and at any time.

Many workers appealed for the liquidation of the clubs, "Spartacus" and "Protomagia," and they stated that a debate will be very useful for their enlightenment on the views of the Opposition and those of the Stalinists. The Stalinists preferred silence to an answer as to the debate. Following the 35 minutes of poor and unconvincing talk of the editor, other Stalinists spoke for an hour to prove to the workers their nakedness and their degeneration by making fun of comrade Cornilius who after all did not suffer while in prison for 19 months but "came out of jail quite fat." Comrade Pappas answered to the point the weak arguments of the Stalinists, and concluded by also appealing for a debate. While the chairman was adjourning the meeting the Stalinist editor asked the floor to answer the demands of the workers for a debate and when he took it instead of accepting or refusing it he hurled some epithets and run down to the street.

February 12th

The following Sunday we postponed our next lecture on Germany on account of the call for a united front by the party for the unemployed. Protomagia participated with 3 delegates, comrades Cornilius, James Gordon and Caidis. Comrade Gordon was unable to attend the conference because he was meeting at the same time with the Central Strike Committee of Fortis-Fischer's. The Conference conducted its business in the same steam-rolling fashion as the other Stalinist conferences. Our delegates protested against this procedure and demanded that at least a minimum time be given to the delegates to discuss the resolutions that were submitted for ratification prior to their voting. They went ahead and passed it any way. Finally the floor was given for only five minutes to comrade Caidis who protested against the steam-rolling and pointed out that the six-hour day and five-day week must be included in the resolutions and also the long term credits to the Soviet Union and explained the necessity for the agitation of these demands. The chairman didn't allow him to proceed any further.

Then the Stalinists (they were the only ones present besides us that took the floor) forgot all about the united front for the unemployed Greek workers and began their usual slanders against the Opposition. The floor was refused to comrade Cornilius who was anxious to refute the Stalinists about the composition of our club Protomagia. Anyway, when the collection was taken, they didn't refuse the donation of Protomagia and the wild applause of the delegates considerably annoyed the Stalinists. They were forced to accept in the committee a member of Protomagia. But at the last meeting seeing that our club members began to penetrate the ranks of the unemployed, especially at the soup kitchen of St. Barbara where three of our comrades were elected as their delegates, decided to appeal to the Central Committee of the Unemployed Councils for their approval to removing our club from the united front.

Many misguided workers begin to see clearly that our warnings about the danger of the Right wing policies of the Stalinists were correct, because they are already serving to strengthen the prestige of the bankrupt clergy.

All these activities of Protomagia and those of the Greek Opposition annoy considerably the nerves of the Stalinists. For the last three weeks the Empress carries a campaign of lies and slanders in a fashion that far exceeds that of the tabloids. But all these instead of serving their purposes reveal on the contrary to every thinking worker the depth of their degeneration. They especially complain about the wide distribution among the Greek workers of New York, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh, of Militants, Fall ton Taxson, of Communists, because they realize that once a large numbers of misinformed workers get a hold of our publications, it will open their eyes and will impose upon the Stalinists the discontinuation of their petty-bourgeois opportunism which they, themselves, when forced to the wall, from time to time try to present to the workers as insignificant errors on their part.

—A. C.

Report Shows Fate of Germany Hangs In Balance; United Front Is Urgent

(Continued from last issue)

There need be no doubt that the millions of German workers who have definitely expressed their sympathy and support either for the Communist party or for the Socialist party instinctively feel that Fascism represents the Sword of Damocles hanging over their heads, threatening their organizations with destruction, threatening their even now miserable standard of living, and threatening their very lives. There are examples every day of such an instinctive feeling. But compared to the immensity of the needs of the situation there is still a great deal of passivity. Its organizations are either unable or their leaders unwilling to act. At times it seems as if the paralysis and the passivity is breaking. Last Sunday the social-democrats called a demonstration at the Lustgarten in Berlin. It became a monster turnout. Otto Wels, after many radical phrases declared for a "non-aggression pact" with the Communists. It was only a further step to sabotage the genuine united front; but that declaration alone nevertheless expresses the increasing pressure for unity of action which these leaders feel upon them from their own masses following. Again yesterday afternoon, February 10, a gigantic funeral procession wound its way through Berlin to the cemetery of Friedrichsfelde in honor of the three class victims Berner, Kollatsh and Schultz, who were murdered by the brown shirted bandits. Despite the police prohibition over 100,000 workers marched through the streets. Without a united front being formally established the S. P., the Y. S. L., the Reichsbanner and the C. P. official participated. The Reichsbanner spokesman appealed to the workers of his columns for common struggle with the Communist workers and for a united front of action. The Y. S. L. spokesman admonished his followers to make all possible sacrifice for the establishment of a fighting united front. Comrade Pieck, in the name of the C. P., called upon all the workers to join the united front. Yet the party fails to act, fails to organize the united front.

There are radiant rays of hope when one feels the throbbing of such mighty marching columns. The broad shoulders of these husky German proletarians, within each row, almost touched one another. Their faces were solemn but showed distinct determination. What a splendid picture of class solidarity. Power is expressed in these heavy footsteps.

Why Are the Strong Hands Paralyzed?

But the defeat of Fascism in Germany is an enormous task. Even such powerful demonstrations can only be the small beginnings. Why then are these strong hands paralyzed? That is the question of the position of the parties, of policy and of leadership. Never before has the treasonable role of the Socialist party bureaucracy been so clearly revealed as at this moment. Since their betrayal of the revolution in 1918 and their murder of the best working class fighters they have made a parliamentary sham-

Dark Prospect Under Hitler Rule

(Continued from Page 1)

fore will attempt to carry through a third alternative: the still further forcing down of German wages to produce still lower costs and prices on its exported goods, which will make possible larger export surpluses. But the workers have already begun to resist in spite of the handicap of reformist domination. Wages cannot be cut materially further without smashing both social democratic and Communist organizations, political, trade union, and other; and only Fascism can do this job. On the other hand, effective resistance even on the economic arena means the liquidation of the trade union organizations with the least possible delay; the revolutionary Red Trade Union Organization must merge with the reformist General German Trade Union Federation and the "Free" organizations.

The Fascist-Bonapartist alliance showing its results in the new tariff legislation, which means that practically no wheat or corn, and of meat products, can enter the country. For the first time since the present crisis began, prices of farm products have advanced steeply, and have forced the general index of prices up. This cements the alliance between the agrarian and the industrial capitalists.

The later have been able, in the face of the crisis, to put through an increase of 22 percent in the price of export steel during the past month, in the expectation of closing arrangements for an international cartel including France, Belgium and Luxembourg as well as Germany. In this way the industrialists of the Rhine, Ruhr and Silesia expect, in collusion with "bated foreigner", to be able to carve out a bigger slice of the export market on the one hand, while striking down the resistance of the German worker to wage-cuts with the other, and enforcing a regime of super-exploitation based on political domination by naked brute force through Hitler's bands and the army, the police, and the Steel Helmet nationalist troops.

The German bourgeoisie is betting on its supporters. Stocks of iron, steel and coal companies have been making new high prices lately

bles even out of their own party's social democratic aims in order to fully re-establish capitalism. Thus they prepared the road for Fascism. And in the development of this brown shirted menace they deliberately fostered the illusions that this would be only another affair to be conquered by ballots and to be conquered by the forces of the "iron front" including all the supporters of Hindenburg. They still speak in the name of this "iron front". As a matter of fact the social democrats are now all that is left of it. But, and that is important, millions of workers still follow these traitors, who only out of fear for their own hides simultaneously give lip service to the slogans of struggle against Fascism. Yet that is precisely the reason why the formation of the united front of the entire working class becomes the key to the situation, which the Communist forces must take hold of. It is the means to defeat Fascism, it is the means to finally unmask the traitors. This the Left Opposition has demanded since the beginning of the Fascist menace. In this our small forces have attempted to show the way.

The Balance Sheet of Stalinism In Germany

The Communist workers, however, were also unprepared. They were lulled into a false underestimation of the sinister menace, into the false security that "We come after the Fascists". They were misdirected by the slogans of "national liberation" and of a "people's revolution". They were sharply divided from their class brothers by the false concepts of "social Fascism". They were split away in small sections from the mass organizations by the criminal policy of independent revolutionary trade unions. The position of the party leadership to date has represented a criminal capitulation. In face of the existing menace, when Hitler received his nomination, it threw out the slogan of the general strike in a sort of hit or miss fashion and naturally the response was almost nil. The party leadership set up phantom united front organs. For example in Berlin on the fateful night of Jan. 30, a conference attended by more than 2,000 delegates convened to take measures against the Fascist danger. It listened to much oratory, decided to meet the next day to organize the general strike and collapsed. It represented in reality nobody outside of the party. The general strategy of these Stalinist leaders has since sunk to the level of isolated demonstrations, mass meetings, demonstrative strikes of one hour or two hours, one day in one smaller factory or small town, another day in another and in some places merely economic strikes against certain social measures. This strategy, or lack of strategy to be more exact, could only demonstrate the frightful weakness of the party position and particularly its separation from the workers in the industries. The party's own membership composition is about 80 percent unemployed. The party's inability to lead and to mobilize masses became sadly revealed. Such is the balance sheet to date of the party Stalinist leadership.

To be continued.

—ARNE SWABECK.

on the Berlin Stock Exchange. These companies will be among the first to benefit not only from a war, but also from the re-armament of Germany which both Nazis and nationalists have inscribed on their program.

The fact that a boom is taking place in German stocks while the major world security markets are declining proves that what the speculators are betting on is not a general recovery in world economy, in which German because of its financial weakness would not be among the first to share. Their calculations are rather based on a special development within Germany, and that is the coming into power of Hitler.

Torn between fear, as the accumulated contradictions of the crisis continue to crash down upon it and the spectacular economic gamble of Hitler's program collapses, and hope that the still bigger gamble on Hitler will after all succeed, the German bourgeoisie has reached a point where only desperate measures will suffice it. It is willing to extend an unlimited credit in confidence and in resources to Hitler and his murderous rabble.

Only one thing can stop them—the closing-up of the ranks of labor and its steady march forward from immediate demands toward ultimate goal. No petty considerations of factional prestige must be permitted to interfere with the adoption of the sound and tested line which the Left Opposition has been advocating for years; and least of all at a time when the immediate economic situation, as well as the political regrouping of forces, show that Germany is balancing on the edge of the knife.

—B. J. FIELD.

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